

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3622
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 11352

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR EARLE'S PLENARY STATEMENT
- DECEMBER 1, 1977 (SALT TWO-1523)

BEGIN TEXT.

- STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR EARLE
- DECEMBER 1, 1977

MR. MINISTER:

- I

TODAY, HAVING CONSIDERED THE RECENT REVISIONS TO THE
SOVIET FORMULATION FOR THE LIMITATION OF NEW TYPES OF ICBMS
IN ATCLE II OF THE PROTOCOL, I WILL FURTHER EXPLAIN THE
CONSENS OF THE UNITED STATES ON THIS ISSUE.

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QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS CAN
CONTRIBUTE TO STABILITY BY MAINTAINING THE SURVIVABILITY
OF THE FORCES OF EACH SIDE. FURTHER, SUCH STABILITY CAN
BE ENHANCED AT MUTUALLY REDUCED STRATEGIC FORCE LEVELS.
IN SEEKING TO ACHIEVE THE GOAL OF ENHANCED STABILITY,
THE SIDES HAVE MADE PROPOSALS DURING THE CURRENT NEGO-

TIATIONS TO ESTABLISH EQUAL AGGREGATE FORCE LEVELS, TO REDUCE THOSE FORCE LEVELS AND QUALITATIVELY TO CONSTRAIN THOSE STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS WHICH THEY BELIEVE HAVE THE GREATEST POTENTIAL FOR UNDERMINING STRATEGIC STABILITY.

IT IS THIS LAST OBJECTIVE, QUALITATIVE CONSTRAINTS ON THOSE STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS WHICH UNDERMINE STABILITY, THAT GIVES RISE TO THE PROPOSAL OF THE UNITED STATES WITH REGARD TO LIMITATIONS ON NEW TYPES OF ICBMS. IT IS THE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES THAT THE CAPABILITIES OF ICBMS SHOULD BE FROZEN AT THEIR PRESENT STAGE OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT. ALTERNATIVELY, TO ALLOW SIGNIFICANT INCREASES IN ICBM CAPABILITIES WOULD RESULT IN DECREASED STABILITY. ACCORDINGLY, THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPOSED A COMPREHENSIVE BAN FOR THE TERM OF THE PROTOCOL ON THE FLIGHT-TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW TYPES OF MIRVED AND NON-MIRVED ICBMS NOT FLIGHT-TESTED AS OF THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT, TO BE EFFECTIVE, SUCH LIMITATIONS MUST NOT PERMIT IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CAPABILITY OF EXISTING ICBMS. THEREFORE, THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPOSED THAT "NEW TYPES OF ICBMS" BE DEFINED IN SUCH A MANNER THAT CHANGES TO THE SIGNIFICANT COMPONENTS OF EXISTING ICBMS WOULD RESULT IN THOSE ICBMS BEING CONSIDERED AS NEW TYPES OF ICBMS.

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THE PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION, ON THE OTHER HAND, WOULD PERMIT SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS TO EXISTING MIRVED AND NON-MIRVED ICBMS. SUCH CHANGES COULD LEAD TO MAJOR INCREASES IN THE CAPABILITIES OF THESE ICBMS, CAPABILITIES WHICH SHOULD BE FROZEN DURING THE TERM OF THE PROTOCOL. THE OTHER LIMITATIONS ON ICBMS AND THEIR LAUNCHERS, ALREADY AGREED, DO NOT PREVENT SUCH SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MEANINGFUL CONSTRAINTS ON INCREASES IN ICBM CAPABILITIES IS AN OBJECTIVE WHICH MUST BE ATTAINED IN THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS. FAILURE TO DO SO WOULD NOT ONLY UNDERMINE STABILITY AND PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE VALUE OF THE AGREEMENT BUT WOULD MAKE EFFECTIVE LIMITATIONS IN SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS DIFFICULT OR IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE. THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERS THAT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SUCH CONSTRAINTS MUST NOT BE DEFERRED TO SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS.

- IV

ON NOVEMBER 29 THE SOVIET DELEGATION PROPOSED THAT EACH SIDE WOULD BE PERMITTED TO FLIGHT-TEST AND DEPLOY ONE NEW TYPE OF ICBM WITH A SINGLE REENTRY VEHICLE DURING THE TERM OF THE PROTOCOL. IN THE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES, SUCH AN EXEMPTION IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSE OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL WHICH IS TO ARREST TECHNOLOGICAL IMPROVEMENTS IN THOSE STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS WHICH COULD HAVE A DESTABILIZING EFFECT.

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TESTED AND DEPLOYED WITH A SELF-CONTAINED DISPENSING MECHANISM OR OTHER ASSEMBLIES TO WHICH THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS REFERRED, THERE WOULD STILL BE THE POTENTIAL OF DEVELOPING TECHNOLOGICAL IMPROVEMENTS WHICH COULD SUBSEQUENTLY BE USED TO IMPROVE THE CAPABILITIES OF MIRVED ICBMS IN SUCH AREAS AS RELIABILITY AND ACCURACY. FURTHER, ALTHOUGH A NON-MIRVED ICBM MAY NOT BE AS DESTABILIZING AS A MIRVED ICBM, THE LARGE-SCALE REPLACEMENT OF EXISTING NON-MIRVED ICBMS WITH ADVANCED ICBMS WITH SINGLE REENTRY VEHICLES WOULD IN AND OF ITSELF HAVE A DESTABILIZING EFFECT.

- V

MR. MINISTER, BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW

AGREEMENT SHOULD STRENGTHEN STRATEGIC STABILITY. THE
PURPOSE OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL IN THIS REGARD IS
TO HALT THE MOMENTUM OF ICBM IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS UNTIL
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A MORE PERMANENT SOLUTION CAN BE NEGOTIATED. THE PROPOSALS
OF THE UNITED STATES MEET THIS OBJECTIVE. I URGE YOUR
CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF MY COMMENTS. EARLE

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